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ABSTRACT

Details of conversational behavior can often not be interpreted until the social interaction, including the rights and obligations of the participants, their intent, the topic, etc., has been defined. This paper presents a model of conversation in which the conversational image a person presents in a given conversational situation is a function of a variety of social, psychological, and physical variables. Although this entails that individuals assume and recognize a variety of social roles, the task is lessened when it is realized that one may learn to shift social roles systematically along a small number of social scales. Three conversations are analyzed in terms of the shifting within and between conversational scales. The analyses indicate frequent complex interaction among various scales. Evidence suggests tremendous differences between intimate and highly monitored conversations. The progression from more formal to less formal conversations involves a decreasing focus on linear sequences and local turns and an increased focus on the overall gestalt of the conversation. Quantitative analyses of conversational characteristics reveal little about conversational interaction and patterns of dominance unless the conversation is interpreted in terms of the social frame in which it occurs and the conversational images the participants assume. (JK)

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Conversational Dominance

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1. Introduction

Conversations have been studied from many different perspectives. Out of the American structuralist and early transformationalist traditions came a concern with language as a code, one that led not only to the use of the 'rule' concept but one that led as well to the polarization between the ideal and the actual.¹ Linguists influenced by this position will generally insist on studying the ideal and relegate 'deviations of use' to a theory of performance. Yet the recent shift in emphasis toward a greater concern with presuppositions, as in Lakoff (1971), Kiparsky and Kiparsky (1971), and Karttunen (1974), and the formulation of a theory of speech acts and of general conversational postulates, as in Grice (1975), Gordon and Lakoff (1975), and Searle (1969), are clear attempts to deal with sentences as parts of discourses and hence with their use. While this development is a step in the right direction, it is hardly adequate, however, to explain how language is used in actual conversational interaction. The same criticism has also been expressed by Halliday (1977).

In contrast to this 'language as code' position, ethnographers have been much more interested in language as behavior or interaction. Accordingly, 'ethnographic theories . . . tend to interpret language not as rules but as resource. The "code" is a system, a potential; "behavior" is the actualization of that potential in real life situations; in other words, "code" equals "potential for behavior". For this reason the system is represented not as sets of rules but as networks of relations.' (Halliday, 1977:4) Halliday considers his own systemic-functional approach as an attempt to intergrate the two positions, the language-as-code and the language-as-behavior positions, into one descriptive framework. He assumes correctly that conversation needs to be presented at a level that is above the linguistic code, thus making it possible for other semiotic systems, such as kinesics, to replace

language as the carrier of the dialogue and insists that 'at the level of social context dialogue can be interpreted as a process of exchange.' (1977:11) The most basic division in such an exchange is seen to lie between goods and services, on the one hand, and information on the other. In addition to the commodity being exchanged, Halliday also defines the roles of the participants in the exchange, with the basic division into 'initiating' and 'responding'. Figure 1, adapted from Halliday (1977), illustrates the basic division of Halliday's model:

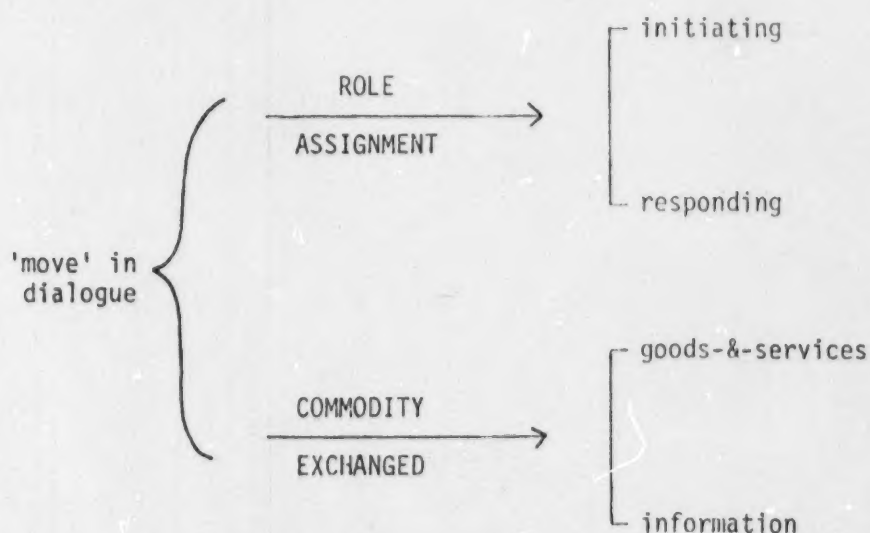


Fig. 1: Halliday's system of dialogue at the level of social context.

Although this approach has much to recommend it, we believe that the discourse options are too rigidly defined to achieve Halliday's goal--to reveal the full 'dynamics of personal interaction' (p. 12).

While we do not believe that Halliday's network system is sufficient to explain the dynamics of personal interaction, we do, however, share his view with regard to the social context. In fact, following Labov and Fanshel we view conversation as 'a type of human interaction, taking place within a social frame' (1977:26), and

unless we deal with the social frame first, as does Goffman and as do Labov and Fanshel, we cannot hope to fully explain the structural organization of the interaction. This is essentially the shortcoming of the research carried out, e.g., by Sinclair, Coulthard, and Schegloff, who begin with an analysis of details and try to derive from them the structural organization of the conversation as a whole.² Labov and Fanshel have argued, and we believe rightly so, that the details of conversational behavior can often not be interpreted until the social interaction, including the rights and obligations of the participants, their intent, the topic, etc., have been clearly defined.

2. Description of approach

The approach we wish to advocate here has benefited from the work of a great number of researchers. For instance, we have been influenced by the work of Labov and Fanshel (1977), Brown and Levinson (1978), St. Clair and Valdes-Fallis (1979), Halliday (1977), Wells (1979), von Raffler-Engel and Hopson (1976), and Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson (1974) among others. But the two researchers whose work has determined our approach most directly are Goffman and Joos.

From Goffman we have learned that 'there is no occasion of talk so trivial as not to require each participant to show serious concern with the way he handles himself and the others present.' (1967:3) According to Goffman, participants in a conversation define each other in terms of conversational images and roles. And 'what is said depends on the structure of interpersonal interaction' (St. Clair and Valdes-Fallis, 1979:9), which is in turn determined by the conversational images that the conversation partners have adopted or were forced to adopt. It follows then that human beings have constantly to perform and respond to a whole array of social roles, with every role demanding slightly different patterns of verbal and nonverbal be-

havior. Goffman notes that 'when an individual appears before others he will have many motives for trying to control the impression they receive of the situation.' (1959:15) One of the important motivating factors in a conversation is the requirement for the participants to 'save face'--their own and that of the other participants in the interaction. This dimension of Goffman's work has been systematically--although perhaps somewhat too rigidly--worked out in Brown and Levinson (1978). Goffman also stresses the effect of the ever-present audience in conversational analyses. In fact, Goffman's recognition of this 'audience effect'--whether or not the audience is actually present--has led to his important distinction between 'frontstage' and 'backstage.'³

We turn next to the second major influence on our work. Earlier we suggested that conversation partners have constantly to perform and respond to a whole array of social roles or images. Unless such a role shifting were systematically structured, it would seem unlikely that human beings could acquire the principles of social interaction with such facility. Goffman makes the same point when he insists that 'there are grounds for believing that the tendency for a large number of different acts to be presented from behind a small number of fronts is a natural development in social organization.' (1959:26). It is essentially this phenomenon that Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson (1974) are trying to explain when they propose their 'context-free' systematics for conversation. However, we believe that their approach is misguided: it represents the same kind of idealization as Chomsky's early model of TG-grammar.

In contrast to that approach, we have adapted Joos' (1972) concept of scales along which language behavior varies, so clearly confirmed in Labov's work on style shifting. Labov (1972b) also warns that 'the categorical model of linguistic behavior may indeed lead linguists to set up paradigms of discrete features, mutually

defined by their oppositions, for fields where only open sets are to be found in reality.' (p. 121) Joos' concept of scales suggests a different systematics for conversational interaction, one that is characterized by systematic variability, where the variation occurs along a small set of not necessarily discrete social parameters or scales. Before we can fully understand what is going on when two persons interact through conversation, we must isolate the different scales and define the patterns of variation along them. But it is not enough to merely select one state as underlying or basic to all others, as Sacks, et al. (1974) have, for instance, done.

What emerges from our discussion is a model of conversation in which the conversational image a person presents in a given conversational situation is a function of a variety of social, psychological, and physical variables, such as social status, age, sex, relationship to the conversation partner, topic, and motivation. Although every person would thus have to learn to assume and to recognize many different social roles, the task is considerably simplified if we recognize with Goffman that there is a 'tendency for a large number of different acts to be presented from behind a small number of fronts' (1959:26). We have suggested that this comes about because a person learns to shift social roles not randomly but systematically along a small number of social scales. Figure 2 illustrates this model graphically:

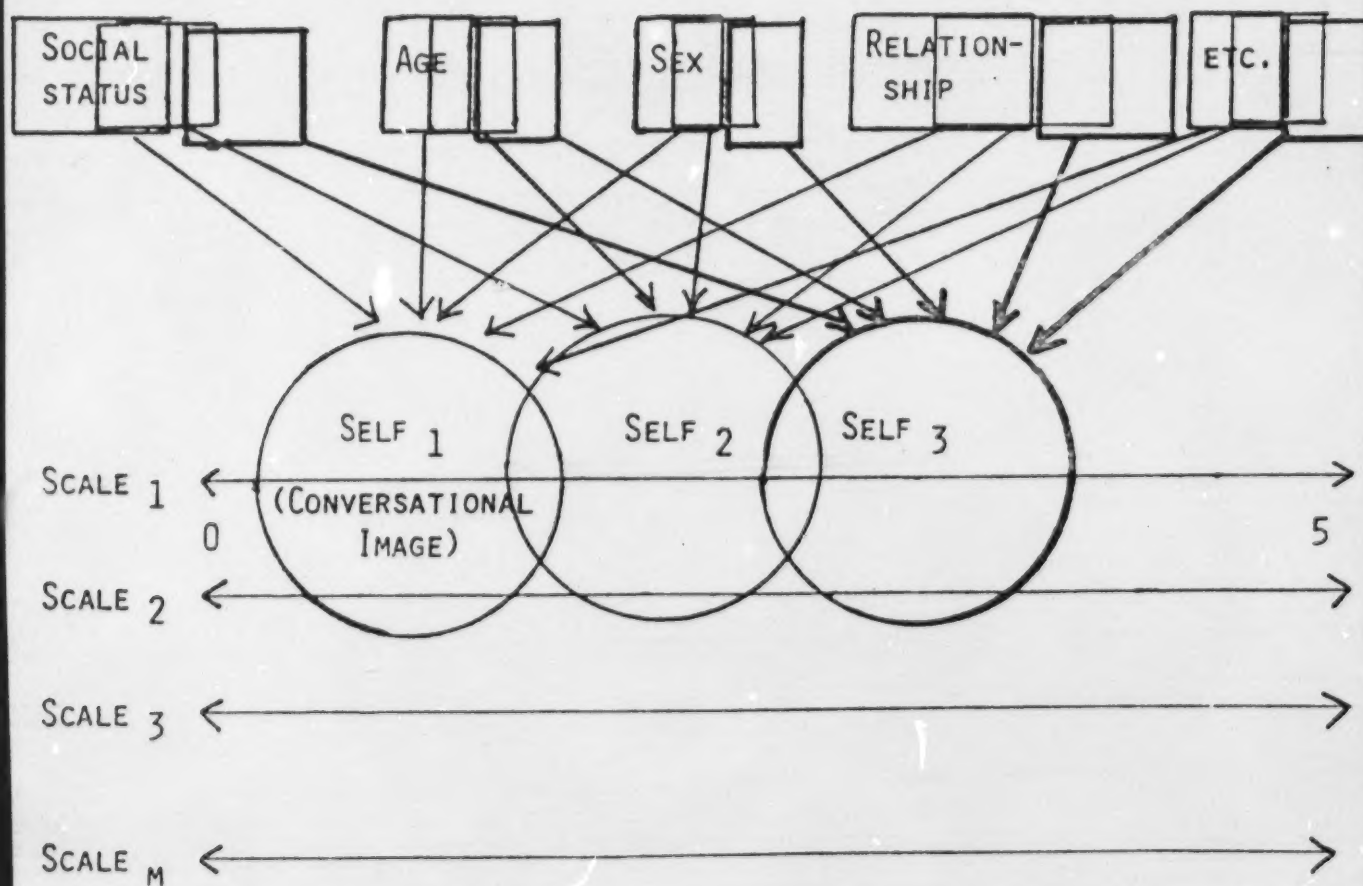
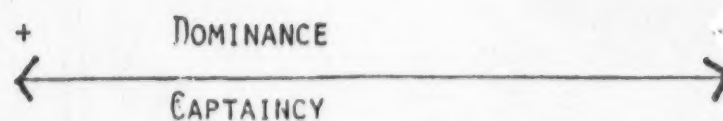


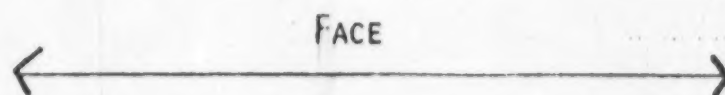
FIG. 2 SHIFTING OF SELF ALONG CONVERSATIONAL SCALES

Figure 3 illustrates a number of the scales that we have found to be significant. We have no clear idea at present how many scales will be needed or how the different scales interact; however, it appears that scales 1 and 2, labeled 'Dominance/Captaincy' and 'Face' respectively, carry the main burden for structuring conversational interaction.

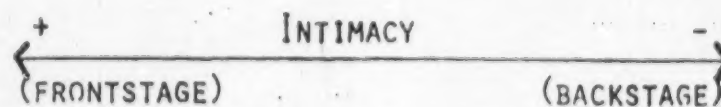
SCALE 1



SCALE 2



SCALE 3



SCALE 4

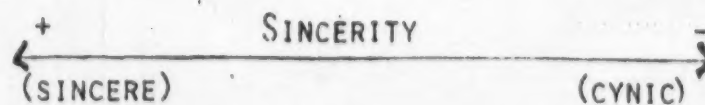


FIG. 3: FOUR CONVERSATIONAL SCALES

When we began our work we had labeled Scale₁ 'Dominance'. But the more we looked at dominance, the more we became aware of the problem with that concept. First of all, we believe that dominance is not a simple concept but a complex one that depends on a variety of things. Second, we do not feel that dominance can be usefully defined to lead to an understanding of the control conversation partners have of the conversation. Third, the term dominance is now too often endowed with a negative connotation, as if it were a synonym for 'domineering'. To avoid these problems we have adapted the term captaincy from bridge to describe that scale. Captaincy may then be defined as the shifting of leadership roles mutually agreed upon by the participants in a conversation. The assignment of captaincy may be based on a variety of social and psychological and physical facts, such as a person's command of the topic, his emotional state, a person's social position, or even the group's desire to terminate the conversation.

For the second scale, labeled 'Face', we can turn to Goffman, who defines face as 'the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact. Face is an image of self delineated in terms of approved social attributes.' (1967:5) However, we would make one slight change in Goffman's definition. Face, we would insist, is not 'the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself' but merely 'the social value', in itself neither positive nor negative. Moreover, a person is not always free to claim the social value he or she wishes, as Goffman appears to suggest.

Participants in a conversation may, of course, challenge both the captaincy and the face of a particular speaker. The first leads to a vying for dominance between participants and the second leads to the kind of face-

threatening acts discussed in Brown and Levinson (1978), which can be avoided through the use of appropriate politeness strategies.

In order to determine how social roles shift along the conversational scales we have indentified, it will be necessary to examine carefully the verbal and nonverbal devices through which they are manifested. Table 4 categorizes what we believe to be the most important of such devices:

1. DISTRIBUTION OF VERBAL AND NONVERBAL DEVICES

- A) LEXICO-SYNTACTIC
- B) TIMING/TEMPO
- C) VOLUME
- D) PITCH
- E) JUNCTURE, PAUSES
- F) SPACE
- G) ETC.

2. SEQUENCING OF UTTERANCES

- A) SELECTION OF TURNS
- B) OVERLAPS
- C) GAPS
- D) LOOPING

3. POLITENESS STRATEGIES

4. STYLE LEVELS

(INTIMATE-INFORMAL-CONSULTATIVE-FORMAL)

TABLE 4: VERBAL/NONVERBAL MANIFESTATIONS OF ROLE SHIFTING
ALONG CONVERSATIONAL SCALES

3. Description of research

We intend to support our theoretical position by documenting several patterns of variation that we have discovered in our analysis of conversation. As our data we will use three short dyadic conversations. The first one is an excerpt from a series of eight video tapes of an undergraduate linguistics class taken at Vanderbilt University (with Prof. von Raffler-Engel as primary investigator).⁴ The class is normally made up of twelve students (5 females and 7 males) and the professor (female). The excerpt we have chosen contains, in addition, a guest speaker (male) and a visiting professor (male), who acts as the host. For this paper we shall focus merely on one conversational dyad, viz., that involving the guest speaker and the host. See Appendix A for a transcript of the relevant portion. The second conversation, transcribed in Appendix B, is from an oral recording between two adult females taken in their own apartment. The third conversation is between the same two adult females with a third female occasionally contributing to the conversation. See the transcription in Appendix C.

4. Analysis of Tapes

As we analyze the three conversations in terms of the model outlined in Section 2, we will be interested primarily in the 'Captaincy/Dominance' scale. The other scales will interest us only as they interact with captaincy. (In a longer version of the paper, we analyze all the scales of Figure 3 more fully and examine as well how they interact.) Briefly stated, we wish to demonstrate three different patterns of dominance. In Tape A, which is very much front-stage, we find a rather intense vying for dominance. In Tape B, we will see a backstage conversation in which neither of the two speakers dominates. Tape C, finally, illustrates a conversation that is neither truly backstage nor

frontstage and in which the three participants control different aspects of the interaction.

4.1 Tape A

In A we are looking at a conversation between two middle-aged men, a sociology professor at Vanderbilt, labeled H (Host) in the transcript (Appendix A), and a vice-president for public relations of one of the major TV networks, labeled G (Guest). The two are discussing 'news' before an audience of 13 people in a linguistics class. As far as face is concerned, there is not too much difference between them: both are well-educated men in their forties (?), whose professional experience should qualify them to discuss news in front of an audience. The guest may have a slight advantage, particularly since he is not only the guest, but also the guest star--the host obviously regards him as being in 'show biz'--and since the conversation takes place in front of a camera.

Our attempt to explain the patterns of captaincy/dominance in terms of turn-taking devices--turn selection, overlaps, interruptions, etc.--proved unsuccessful. Not only is a comparison of the total number of turns and the number of self-selected turns unrevealing, but the conversation contains as well a total of eleven overlaps, of which the host wins six and the guest five. The turns are fairly equal, until the last part of the conversation when the guest clearly has the largest turns whereas the host is reduced to mm's and yeahs in his unsuccessful attempts to self-select. Although viewers of the tape are unanimous that the guest rather than the host dominates the conversation, there is no easy way to quantify that information using the turn-taking devices of Sacks, et al. (1974).⁵

To explain why the guest is seen to dominate the conversation, we need to

sketch the overall development of the interaction in a little bit more detail. The first 123 lines show the two speakers vying for dominance in a way that is totally lacking in the other two conversations to be analyzed below. The host, who has been sitting rather quietly until this point, suddenly makes a move to control the conversation with the opener:⁶

'I'd like to shift shift our focus just a little [bit
(G) all right] to uh I've got
a number of questions uh uh uh that have to do with what is news.' (11. 1-4)

As soon as the guest begins to respond, the host continues with the disclaimer:

'... I know that this isn't your direct responsibility uh but ...' (1. 9), and then changes his question to: 'How does NBC know how to deploy its people?' (11. 10-11) G resists that question and returns to the earlier question, 'What is news?' insisting that one has to answer the philosophical question first. H then tries to show that he is knowledgeable by introducing a joking reference to Roone Arledge (ABC). However, rather than accepting this challenge, G dismisses it with a casual, 'It's a controversial point' (1. 21), overlapping H's utterance while doing so.

When H accepts G's rather uninformative statement with the verbalization 'Ok', G takes advantage of the situation and loops back to his earlier questions. Looping is a quite common strategy in this conversation. It is one of the best indicators that the conversation partners are merely superficially responding to each other; looping reflects the intense vying for dominance that the two are engaged in. They are not really interested in what the other has to say but are instead constantly trying to advance their own arguments. For instance, when G interrupts H (11. 45-59), H comes right back and interrupts G (1. 60). But instead of responding to what G just said, H loops back to line 44 and picks up where he left off. The vying for dominance becomes more intense and reaches its peak between lines 67 and 123. At that point G takes complete control of the

for dominance. Both interrupt each other, both use looping strategies to bypass the other's argument. However, G begins to show his greater skill when he takes a moment to defuse the other's argument, as he does in lines 21-25, before picking up his own. G also proves to be more skillful in the way he controls the turn taking sequences. Whereas H's speech is characterized by stammering and discontinuity--see, e.g., lines 6-11 or 60-66--G begins very soon to control the tempo: he speeds up to avoid losing his turn but slows down when there is little chance for H to interrupt him. H, on the other hand, is unable to modulate the tempo in any way to his advantage. In short, G is much more articulate and much more skillful in using the turn taking devices to his advantage. Not surprisingly, midway through the conversation he has completely taken charge of the discussion. When H desperately tries to build an argument, as he does in line 123 with 'Every person has to eat', G immediately takes the force out of that argument with the brief comment 'Everybody eats right', never giving H a chance to develop it further.

The analysis thus confirms our viewers' judgment that G is in control of the conversation and that there is an intense struggle for captaincy going on. Using the model introduced in Section 2, we have, moreover, tried to explain what is responsible for these effects.

4. 2. Tape B

This tape illustrates almost perfectly Goffman's 'backstage' concept. Two adult female roommates, labeled A and E in Appendix B, are relaxing after a party--a science fiction convention. It is about 11:00 p.m., and they are preparing a late night snack, drinking wine coolers, and listening to records. Except for a tape recorder, which has been present so often that the speakers are almost oblivious to it, there is no audience. As far as face is concerned,

conversation, and H can do little more than respond with mm, ah, yeah, and similar verbalizations.

When we examine these verbal fillers and hesitation devices more carefully, we find that we can classify them into distinct groups--e.g., self primers, back channel elicitors, etc. However, von Raffler-Engel and Hopson (1976) have shown that such verbalizations can only be fully understood if they are analyzed in their entire verbal and nonverbal context. Our conversation supports that view. For the purpose of this paper, one example will suffice. There are 27 instances of mm, sure, etc. uttered by the listener during the conversation, 25 of them by H and 2 by G. These devices are sometimes referred to as 'auditor back channel signals'.⁷ They appear to be uttered by the listener--often in conjunction with nonverbal signals--to express agreement or to indicate to the speaker that the listener is still paying attention and is following the conversation. However, when we examine H's mm's more carefully, we notice that this is only a very superficial interpretation. Notice, for instance, H's mm's in the lines 12-18:

G: Ok I think uh you have to answer the question what is news
first in the philosophical [question_(H) mm before] you [talk about_{(H)mm}]
the production=

H: right ...

While H's mm's in this sequence may serve to make G feel secure in his turn, they neither signal agreement--as the subsequent discussion shows--nor mere interest and attentiveness on H's part. Rather, H is using them to force G to give up his turn. It is this multiple function of verbal fillers, we believe, that makes them so useful in conversational interactions.⁸

The patterns we have illustrated are representative of the conversation as a whole. During the first half of the conversation both speakers are often vying

the same function. Since the entire conversation serves to build up solidarity and is supportive in tone, it comes as no surprise that there are no examples of the kind of looping we demonstrated for Tape A and relatively few instances of mm to indicate restlessness or forced attention. The following example is representative of the way overlaps and interruptions function in this conversation:⁹

A: Looking like Timm Curry, looking $\left[\begin{array}{c} \text{like} \\ \text{(E) like} \end{array} \right]$ the

Shakespearian actor that he seems to be. (11. 95-96)

When A and E overlap, they do not do so because they are fighting for turns, but because they are building a conversation together the way two people might put together a picture puzzle, trying to outdo each other at points but immediately thereafter joining together in their common goal. The focus is much less on linear sequences and consecutive turns than it is on the overall gestalt. Many of the individual contributions could have been supplied by either speaker because they are to a large extent predictable.

4. 3. Tape C

In the previous two tapes the speakers presented a consistent conversational image from beginning to end. However, we have several instances in which one or more of the participants shift roles during the conversations. Tape C illustrates one such case. The same two adult female roommates (A and E) as in Tape B have come back from the stables after a slight accident with a horse. A good female friend N is visiting in their home. The three are sitting in the living room listening to records.

There is again very little difference in face between the conversation partners, although it must be noted that E and N are not talking directly to each other. This results in an interesting triangle in which both E and N direct their

we will assume that there is very little difference. Both are female graduate students in an English department, who like dogs, horses, and science fiction conventions, among other things.

We have placed the conversation at the negative end of the 'Captaincy' scale. There is no clear marking indicating that the control over the conversation shifts. Neither of the two speakers considers herself in control. Rather, the whole tone is one of typical backstage camaraderie, of shared experiences and feelings, and unwinding of happy tension after a pleasant shared experience, so much so that one person listening to the tape described it as a duet.

The intimacy of the conversation is achieved through a style which Joos (1961) has labeled intimate, a style characterized by incomplete sentences, obscure references, slang, science fiction jargon, and coded references of strictly personal meaning, incomprehensible to an outsider. Unfortunately, we have no way of determining the nonverbal gestures used to draw the conversation partner's attention to shared experiences. However, there are also a great number of coded verbal references to shared experiences, including E's 'Nudge nudge wink wink ...', A's 'Say no more ...', and E's 'Nevertheless hello ...'. The reliance on context becomes so noticeable, that at several points the music may be said to become a participant in the conversation.

The conversation is marked by a lack of overt captaincy. Consequently, the turn sequences are relatively even, with some rather long gaps and pauses, indicating that the two speakers are not vying for turns. While overlaps occur--there are sixteen in the entire conversation--they do not have the same function as the overlaps in Tape A. Rather the overlaps tend to be supportive; they express agreement and hence heighten the backstage solidarity between the speakers. The frequent occurrence of well, yeah well, yeah, and and as openers seems to serve

conversation to A, but never to each other. About halfway through the conversation there is a sudden shift in face. Before that point A and E are interacting as friends, even though E is angry with A for having been so careless; from that point on E assumes the face of a riding instructor, who treats A as her pupil.

Captaincy is not as easy to determine in this conversation as it was in the other two. On the surface, E, who is scolding A for her accident, is clearly in control; this is particularly true for the second half of the conversation. However, some have noted that there is an undercurrent of control exerted by A.¹⁰ We will come back to this point directly.

This conversation illustrates two difficulties researchers face when analyzing conversations. There is frequently a complex interaction among the various scales that is easily lost when we begin to slice up conversations.¹¹ Moreover, conversational interaction in groups of more than two has its special dynamics that cannot be captured if we approach such group interaction merely in terms of series of dyadic conversations, as is so often done.¹²

Let us begin with the first problem. The shift along the intimacy scale is clearly reflected in the style levels the participants use. If we use Joos' (1961) labels, we would describe the style at the beginning as 'casual'. But after E shifts face, she also shifts into a consultative style. The sentences become more and more complete. They are often highly complex: note E's if-then construction that marks the beginning of the shift. As E proceeds to explain riding methodology in a very measured staccato voice, there is an obvious increase in equestrian jargon, known primarily to A and E but not to N.

One of the nagging questions for the researcher is: 'Why do the participants change their faces midway through the conversation?' The answer is found in A's position on the sincerity scale, which is, no doubt, related to audience awareness.

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There is a noticeable increase in A's playful insincerity just before E shifts face. This is signaled linguistically by a marked rise in pitch (about 1/2 an octave), a more constricted /r/, and finally a rather unconvincing and weakly articulated 'I don't understand'. At this point E responds with 'Suit your bleeding self', uttered with increased volume, and shifts into consultative style as she takes on the role of the riding instructor.

As far as captaincy is concerned, the conversation begins with E scolding A; but she proceeds more with the concern of a friend than with the exactness of a teacher, as she does later. N is trying to make peace to keep the conversation from turning into a fight, at least on the surface. But as we will see directly, N's purpose is more complex than that. If we look at the turn-taking devices for evidence of captaincy, we find that there are long gaps at first, marking perhaps the tension, but they virtually disappear as E takes more control of the situation. Turn sizes are unevenly distributed, with E having by far the greatest amount of speaking time. The turn openers A uses, including but, but I and yeah but, clearly show that she is on the defensive.

Yet while E is in control of the topic and the time, there is a sense in which A controls aspects of the conversation. To see this, it is necessary to examine how A, E, and N interact. Since E and N do not talk directly to each other, we have the following conversational situation:

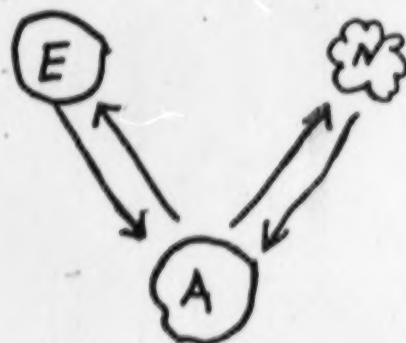


Fig. 5: Conversational triangle in Tape C

We have already indicated that A and E start out with very similar faces but end up with quite different faces after E assumes the riding instructor stance. Turning now to N's contribution, we notice that N is trying to become part of the interaction; she does this first by jokingly defending A, i.e., she sides with A. However, when the strategy fails, she sides with E. It is interesting to note that this shift occurs at the same point as E's role shift, and it appears again that A's insincere tone precipitates N's shift. From that point on N sides with E in telling A why she could have been seriously hurt. N uses the same signals that we documented for E. After E's 'Suit your bleeding self', N responds, although perhaps jokingly at first, with 'Bloody hell'--a phrase she does not ordinarily use. The evidence from turn taking also supports our claim that A somehow controls or at least determines the direction of the interaction between the three participants. For instance, there are seven overlaps in the conversation, always with A as one of the speakers. Since E and N do not talk to each other directly, this is to be expected. What is significant, however, is that A is the one who overlaps E's turn rather than the other way around. Moreover, when A and E overlap, they appear to be merely talking simultaneously.

So far we have examined the conversation in C as if it were an entity in itself. Actually, the segment we have examined is part of a two-hour stretch of conversation. If we had continued the transcription, we would have seen another interesting development running through the conversation: There is a sense in which N can be said to control the conversational interaction. As we indicated earlier, N's joking is clearly an attempt to defuse a rather explosive conversation between E and A, where face threat is used to counter face threat. Notice particularly the following turn sequence between E and A, where A responds to E's face threat with a face threat of her own:

E: Turkey you should have had your hat on.

A: How would that have helped my collar bone?! (11. 7-8)

Although N appears not to be successful at first, after having sided with E, she returns to her earlier 'joking' strategy. This time she is successful and immediately after the point where the transcript stops, the conversation turns into a joking session.

Incorporating these observations, the dynamics of face shifting among the three participants may thus be diagrammed as in Figure 6 below. At the start of the conversation the three participants E, A, and N may be said to be at equal distances. (See the first line of Figure 6.) As the conversation progresses, E and A move closer and closer together, never permitting N to become a full participant in the interaction. At about the midpoint of the conversation a sudden shift occurs: E not only distances herself from A, but she also moves closer to N. (Note the crossover in the diagram.) Toward the end of the conversation, N places herself in an intermediate position between A and E, where she at first tries and eventually succeeds to neutralize the tension and consequently the conversational distance between A and E.

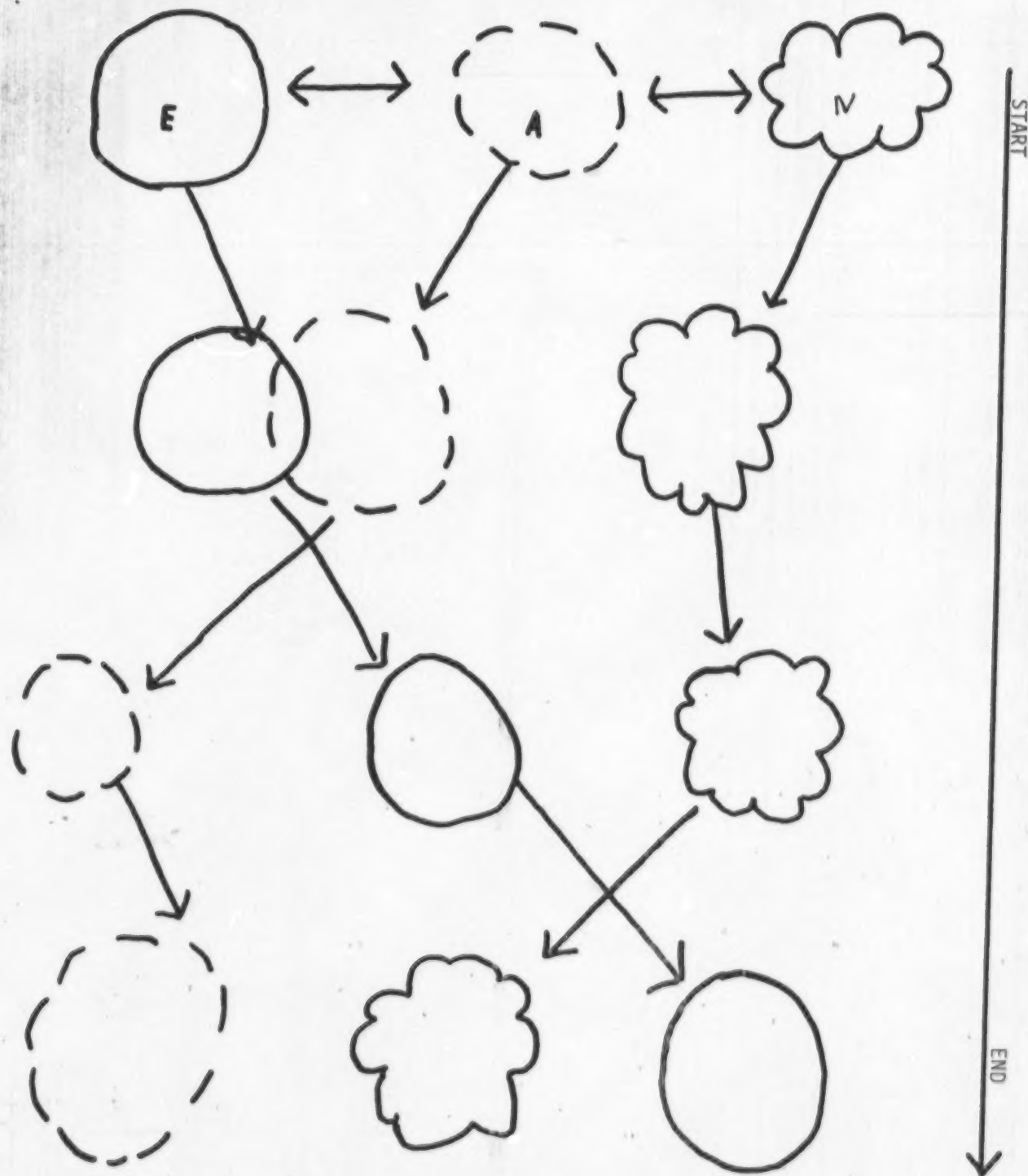


Fig. 6: Dynamics of conversational interaction in tape C

5. Conclusion

Our analysis of three conversations has shown that there is frequently a complex interaction among the various scales. The interaction is easily lost when we slice up conversations into small segments using them to formulate and support certain theoretical maxims. Nor can we understand the dynamics of conversations by defining rules for certain ideal states from which all conversational events are then derived. There is, in fact, some evidence to suggest that intimate conversations are not primarily viewed linearly. The conversation in Tape B is highly predictable in the sense that such conversations are more or less variations on a theme. Both conversation partners know what that theme is, i.e., they know the gestalt that is to be achieved through the conversational interaction and use that knowledge to select specific motifs from songs, films, books, earlier conversations, shared experiences, etc. to move the conversation to that goal.

We have, furthermore, shown that conversational interaction in groups of more than two has its special dynamics that cannot be captured if we approach such group interaction merely in terms of series of dyadic conversations. In Tape C, for instance, we saw a conversation in which the conversation partners redefined their conversational images while the conversation was in progress, resulting in a dynamic repositioning of alignments. Tape C showed, moreover, how difficult it is to determine dominance in conversational interactions. While earlier researchers have often used that concept as if it were well-defined, we were able to show that all three participants control different aspects of the conversation at the same time.

The model we have outlined is equipped, we believe, to explain the dynamics of conversations better than the alternative approaches we have mentioned. While

we do not wish to deny the usefulness of these approaches, we do not feel that they can capture the dynamics of real conversational interaction. The evidence we have presented suggests that there may be tremendous differences between truly intimate conversations and the highly monitored conversation of Tape A. As we move from frontstage to backstage conversations, we find, moreover, that the participants focus less on linear sequences and local turns than they do on the overall gestalt of the conversation and that they often pay very little attention to Grice's conversational maxims, which may, however, be quite revealing when applied to frontstage conversations. And what is perhaps most disappointing: wherever we look, we discover that a mere quantifying of such characteristics as overlaps and verbal fillers reveals very little about the conversational interaction and the patterns of dominance;¹³ such counts become meaningful only when they are interpreted in terms of the larger social frame in which the conversation transpires and in terms of the conversational images that the participants assume.

Footnotes

¹ We would like to thank especially Mike Keene, June Hankins, Alden Turner, and Carl Yost for their valuable criticisms on a preliminary version of this paper. Of course, we alone are responsible for any errors that remain.

² See, also H. Esau, P. Horne, B. Macha, and C. Yost. 1977. 'An analysis of college classroom discourse'. In The Third LACUS Forum: 1976. Columbia, S. C.: Hornbeam Press, pp. 376-390, for a critical assessment of Sinclair and Coulthard's approach.

³ According to Goffman, there tends to be a familiarity between the conversation patterns that conveys

an impression of self and teammate which is ordinarily inconsistent with the impression of self and teammate one wants to sustain before the audience. Since back regions are typically out of bounds to members of the audience, it is here that we may expect reciprocal familiarity to determine the tone of social intercourse. Similarly, it is in the front region that we may expect a tone of formality to prevail.

Throughout Western society there tends to be one informal or backstage language of behavior, and another language of behavior for occasions when a performance is being presented. The backstage language consists of reciprocal first-naming, co-operative decision-making, profanity, open sexual remarks, elaborate griping, smoking, rough informal dress, "sloppy" sitting and standing posture, use of dialect or sub-standard speech, mumbling and shouting, playful aggressivity and "kidding," inconsiderateness for the other in minor but potentially symbolic acts, minor physical self-involvements such as humming, whistling, chewing, nibbling, belching, and flatulence. The frontstage behavior language can be taken as the absence (and in some sense the opposite) of this. (1959-128).

Much of the data linguists study and use to formulate their rules are from front-stage, monitored, and audience-directed language. Intimate backstage conversations are much more difficult to come by and are, consequently, rare in actual linguistic analyses. And yet it is the latter conversations that should best reveal the consistency and structural organization of conversational interaction; at least, that would seem to be the implication of William Labov's (1969) conclusions in The study of nonstandard English. Urbana, Ill.: NCTE. See especially p. 35.

⁴ We wish to thank Professor von Raffler-Engel for making these tapes available to us for analysis. A description of the tapes and the procedure used for making

them may be found in von Raffler-Engel et al. (1979). This paper also argues that group interactions have a dynamics of their own, which cannot simply be explained in terms of dyadic conversations. In Section 4 we shall present evidence to support this position.

⁵ In one instance we asked eight members of a graduate seminar in linguistics to evaluate the conversational interaction. The students were asked to determine which of the two men was dominant. However, it should be mentioned that we did not ask the students to apply any specific set of objective criteria to the conversation. Rather, we were interested primarily in the students' subjective evaluation and only secondarily in the cues they used to reach their decisions.

⁶ See Appendix D for an explanation of the notation we use in the transcription of conversational sequences.

⁷ See, for instance, Duncan (1973) for a classification and discussion of these cues.

⁸ Such fillers give the conversation partners a range of options as they adapt themselves and their contributions to each other.

⁹ In terms of the Sacks et al. framework, this would constitute an interruption rather than an overlap. However, we have seen no value in making such a distinction and will use the term overlap for any occurrence where two people speak at the same time.

¹⁰ This evaluation, too, derives from the informal experiment referred to in Footnote (5).

¹¹ Although Joos (1972) had already warned linguists against slicing up conversations, his warning appears to have gone largely unheeded.

¹² See also von Raffler-Engel et al. (1979), where the same argument is advanced.

¹³ This is essentially the conclusion reached by von Raffler-Engel and Hopson (1976).

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APPENDIX A

- 1 H: I'd like to shift shift our focus just a little bit
2 G: All right
3 H: to uh I've got a number of questions uh uhm uh that have to do
4 with what is news.
5 G: What is news?
6 H: Uh yeah, but from a
7 G: Ok
8 H: technical sense and how, and I know that this isn't your
9 direct responsibility but you've been around it uh uh and
10 you've been involved with it. How does NBC know to how to
11 deploy its people?
12 G: Ok. I think * * uh * * you have to answer the question
13 "what is news" first in the philosophical question
14 H: hmm
15 G: before you talk
16 H: mm
17 G: about the productions
18 H: Right. Particularly with Roone Arledge (laughs)
19 on on the
20 G: It's a controversial point
21 H: on the other channel
22 G: Someone who was raised ina professional broadcaster, very
23 successful as an administrator-producer in another area,
24 will get to news
25 H: Ok.
26 G: what is news?

27 One of the there are many descriptions of it and
 28 you can read a whole book. You can start what is news and then
 29 wri and then for 300 pages, the author can tell you what news is.
 30 And when you finish you have a lot of ideas. Or * you can take
 31 sometimes a simple phr , but one of the best phrases I ever
 32 heard for what a news is, news is what happens to people that matter
 33 to people. I like that * * * * * I think it just about covers
 34 * * * more

35 H: Ok, ok, anything that happens to Mr. Carter is going to be news

36 G: That's right

37 H: You see you have to tag [around

38 G: [because it matters]

39 H: No matter where

40 G: Because it matters

41 H: Because in terms of your show biz, I mean, in terms of a political
 42 notions of new * now it might be thought that, I mean you might
 43 imagine uh su who uh the most important person as is may not
 44 be be Jimmy Carter uh but the reason I

45 G: But there's a two part to that. You see not only not only
 46 what matters, because yes, anything Carter does fits the last
 47 half of that. But it also has to be something that's happening.
 48 We get a lot of critical mail that said, "What don't you get
 49 into so and so?" What they're talking about is a concept that's
 50 just lying there and nothing's happening And we say, "Well,
 51 yeah, we know about that, but what is the news in it?" And
 52 they say, "Well, the news in it is a lot of people are concerned
 53 about it." Well, a lot of people concerned about something may
 54 not be news. Because it's just something that's sitting there.

55 G: * * * * And it should be things that are happening to
 56 people that matter to people. Uh, let's go on to the to the
 57 other part of your question which is the broader. How do we
 58 * * how do we make the new ju the news judgements that * * *
 59 well

60 H: I mean what has been happening to people is like cancer.
 61 Cancer is a big, you know, is, you know, death, death that,
 62 you know, if you're if you are all if you're already here,
 63 you're born, so that's that's happened and you're gonna
 64 get married and, but the one thing everyone can focus on
 65 would be impending death and our own ability to modify that
 66 in terms of uh carcinogens and so on.

67 [Are the all right then]

68 G: [Ok, that's conceptual now.]

69 H: Yeah, I know.

70 G: In order to, in order to to have a news story, something
 71 has to happen.

72 [But it's happened.]

73 [Or it's going] or it's going to be a very sophisticated
 73 documentary on [a subject]

74 H: [But it ar, but, but it doesn't have to have
 75 any, but we talk about, I mean, news has is really political.
 76 I mean the most easiest thing to talk about is political
 77 stuff. The president does something or the
 78 district court does

79 G: People saying things yes.

80 H: Yeah, right.

81 G: Pseudo events

- 82 H: [Yeah, yeah, but you could imagine at the same level]
 83 G: [When a when a when a president has a news conference,] he's
 84 creating a
 85 H: If you imagine you could fantasize a world in which the
 86 medical world rather than the political world was the main
 87 seat of new =
 88 G: OK, fine [now]
 89 H: [And and so] then you could have, you know the uh the checks ups
 90 of the interviews of the the outflow of some particular
 91 dams about the number of the level of some pollutant in it.
 92 And this would continually be the the topic of conversation
 93 G: The topic of conversation, the concept, is not news in itself.
 94 something has to be, somebody has to be doing something;
 95 something has to occur; some discovery has to come up from a
 96 slide.
 97 H: Ma, but
 98 G: It can't just lie there. If we went on the air today and said,
 99 uh, the news today is that uh there seems to be more progress
 100 uh occurring in uh in fighting cancer
 101 H: No, no, you say that your breakfast feud is killing you. I
 102 mean, you know, ya ya , I mean there would be a way of making
 103 it show biz
 104 G: Ah
 105 H: making it newsworthy
 106 G: Ok
 107 H: to make it notable.
 108 G: Ah, ok, what you're say is [that investigative
 109 H: [the people who care about it]
 110 G: reporting to find out * * * something that exists and

111 talk about that in terms of its important to people impor-
112 tance to people. Is that what you're saying?

113 H: Yeah

114 G: Ok now, that's investigative reporting and there is some of that
115 much more easily handled in print than in broadcasting.

116 H: But you talk about it as if, uh, covering the White House was *
117 was * necessarily important and was and was not an investigative
118 reporting.

119 G: Well, you, the examples you gave are abstract. You have * *
120 breakfast food.

121 H: Yeah

122 G: I know

123 H: [That's very concrete.] Every person has to eat

124 G: [Everybody eats, right.] Everybody eats breakfast food. It's
125 an abstract until somebody, as we had two years ago, a man
126 name (Groper?) (cough) a scientist challenged the contention
127 of the major producers. He interested a congressman to hold
128 hearings on it. He was the major witness. It became an event

129 H: Yeah

130 G: tied to a abstract. We covered it. The reason you know about the
131 breakfast food thing is because it was a news event at one time

132 H: Right

133 G: and you now know about it

134 H: Mm hm

135 G: After all there are more things you don't know

136 H: Sure

137 G: and it isn't news until you know it. That's why sometimes we

138 discover things that happened in the past a long time ago.
 139 We only learn about it now that it's news today. Example, uh,
 140 because of the Freedom of Information Act, you can get copies
 141 of uh documents which were secret in the past. We now have
 142 uh in recent weeks J. Edgar Hoover's notes having to do with
 143 the assassination of John Kennedy in 1963, but it's news
 144 today

145 H: Mmm

146 G: because it's revealed. And it's an event that happened, that
 147 happens, and it's revelation and it matters to people. People
 148 are very interested

149 H: Mmm

150 G: in all

151 H: Mm hmm

152 G: aspects of it because there's still a conspiracy

153 H: Mm hmm

154 G: so even if it wasn't known and it's known later. But an abstract
 155 sitting there in itself is not news.

156 H: Unh mmm. All right, what matters to people. Now is it what
 157 people think matters to themselves [or
 158 G: [it's both]

160 H: is it what [NBC
 161 G: [it's both]

162 H: thinks matters?

163 G: It's both. It's it's because we often will cover a story
 164 because because people demonstrate by their interest in it that
 165 they wanna know about it, uh, picketing, uh, sending letters
 166 to congressmen saying they object to something. Uh, any kind of
 167 demonstration of interest we're very, very sensitive to. In fact,

168 we're probably a little overly sensitive, because people will
169 say "You're paying attention to that group and only three
170 people are uh running this group." Certainly we got an awful
171 lot of flack from the general public because of the minority
172 groups who were protesting against the war, the Viet Nam War
173 in the last in the last days of the Johnson administration,
174 Good lord, Lyndon Johnson would excoriate out people
175 H: Sure
176 G: over the phone
177 H: Mm
178 G: for putting on the air "You ga gave three minutes to those fellows
179 and I had a news conference and you gave me thiry seconds. I
180 represent most the people and you're giving all those people
181 out there and they're just radical. What are you doing? You're
182 just tearing America down." Well, let me be literally true
183 H: Let's what if that were literally true. What is your
184 answer?
185 G: Literally true. Now truth is what is in the mind of of the
186 individual groups
187 H: Hm
188 G: Certainly the people who were picketing thought that they were
189 speaking
190 H: Sure
191 G: for America
192 H: Sure
193 G: And Lyndon Johnson said he was speaking for them. Besides, in
194 our system of of uh in our traditions, broadcasters, new news
195 peopla, whether it's in print or not, have to, we are are not
196 permitted to not. I've got two negatives there. Let me state
197 that again. We uh uh must * * report * the acts acts of people
198 who in a uh minority

199 H: Hm

200 G: situation uh rather than merely restrict those who are in
201 majority opinions. Obviously, we have to do that because
202 the country is really a group of minorities, no matter what

203 H: Hmm

204 G: you're talking about. I can I can also, long hair, short hair,
205 classes, colors, sexual preferences

206 H: Yeah

207 G: is all minority. There's no majority ever

208 H: Yeah, I can imagine your deciding that what what happens that
209 affects people uh is, what goes on in the Supreme Court uh and
210 the nitty gritty of that is * pretty dull visually

211 G: Oh, it's very quiet

212 H: You don't have rioting and don't the the the

213 G: You use the word "affects" and I used the word "matters"
214 which are two different words.

215 H: Yeah, that's what, that's

216 G: It's not just affects, affects is part of it, but matters is a
217 little broader, because it's affects

218 H: Yeah. Let's go to local news

219 G: It's what they care about. It's what they're interested in

220 H: Hmm

221 G: They're interested in a long of things. For instance, if ABC
222 * * pulled * * the program called "Soap" because enough ABC
223 affiliates wouldn't play it

224 H: Humm

225 G: we would say that's a news item because we know people are kinda
226 interested in that. Not in that specific thing so much, but
227 the fact that a television network would pull a show because
228 of all affiliates didn't play it because they thought it was too

229 dirty * * * That that's of interest to people * * and matters
230 is interests and effects and a lot of other things.

APPENDIX B

- 1 A: at the at a poster level * * * * * and * * I tell you,
 2 one way one you can tell, if you tell a faaan, give it a
 3 home
 4 E: uh huh
 5 A: he understands what you're talking about. If you tell a
 6 a a mundane or or really a neo * * * that they have no idea
 7 uh well, a neo may. I mean you can be a neo.
 8 E: I resent that
 9 A: Well, you're not a neo anymore
 10 Oh, really?
 11 A: But you can be a neo now. You've got three cons under your
 12 belt? Four? * * * * * (E is changing record)
 13 I mean, you're you're past neo * * * * *
 14 E: Three cons. That's, I mean
 15 A: Or four?
 16 E: Three
 17 A: Three Aggiecons right?
 18 E: Three Aggiecons and a [an Othercon
 19 A: [and Othercon.] That's four.
 20 E: That's four. I wanted to go to Starcon so bad.
 21 A: I know
 22 E: That upsets me
 23 A: We'll go we will go to D-con. I don't care. If it's on a
 24 weekend
 25 E: Yeah
 26 A: We'll go
 27 E: All I have to do is give my cons uh * * *

28 A: Well, we could, we might even scrape up the one-night motel
 29 so we can stay all night for the for parties and things.
 30 I don't want to drive across Dallas at 4 o'clock in the
 31 morning.

32 E: Well, it depends on where it is

33 A: Yeah * well * * usually uh eh the last ones that I've been
 34 to were

35 E: Get off the get off the Millenium Falcon, bloody cat! You
 36 turkey * * trot. Get down thank you. * * * * * I put it
 37 up there so Pooh couldn't stand on it and so the cat stands
 38 on it.

39 A: (laugh) * * * * * Did did you happen to notice who's
 40 going to be at D-con?

41 E: I didn't ever see

42 A: [Ah]

43 E: [but] that girl walking about with the one flyer.

44 A: Because I really want to go and I'd really like to have
 45 a fanzine

46 E: Ask somebody tomorrow. Ask Bruce next door. He's awfully
 47 friendly.

48 A: (laugh) Yes, * * * * * that's [one way to put it
 49 E: [Like the chickiepoos]

50 that he had at his table

51 A: She was not his chickiepoo. She's a unicorn.

52 E: Mmm. He had a black chickiepoo there later. * *

53 Chickiepoos, two of em. That makes them chickiepoos.

54 A: But he's but he only called that the unicorn his girlfriend.

55 E: And he came over and asked us to come partying with him
 56 with his girlfriends * * * [sitting over there]
 57 A: [I didn't hear that]
 58 E: Oh, yes
 59 A: He didn't ask me I
 60 E: Yes, he did.
 61 A: No, he didn't
 62 E: He only leaned on my chair cause my chair was the closest
 63 one * *
 64 A: No, I'm more likely to get the one that turned down the
 65 King Kong stills * * * * *
 66 E: I didn't believe them * * What a pair * what a pair of beached
 67 whales! * * * * *
 68 A: I tell you something. Cons can make you feel dainty sometimes.
 69 E: Yeah. Makes me feel thin. Then I walked in and I was chang-
 70 ing clothes and I happened to look in the mirror oh my gawd.
 71 A: (laugh) But I mean, you look at this man and you say "Aw fat"
 72 and then his wife walk by * * * I, listen, I, my saddle
 73 wouldn't go on her. * * * * She's too wide.
 74 E: Uh hm
 75 A: And you know how wide my saddle is. * * * * Strange because
 76 it's a deformity by that point
 77 E: Well, a disease
 78 A: Well, whatever, she's, I mean but 300 pounds, * * at least
 79 300 pounds. * * that's aren't you in pain at three I mean,
 80 I'm in pain * * * * * just to think that I can reach
 81 down and grab hold of it

- 82 (record) Oh, you're gonna let it all hang out, fat bottomed
 83 girls
 84 A: (laughing) I don't want it to hang out this far! * * *
 85 E: How funny * *
 86 A: I guess we've been told * * *
 87 E: I tell you, anybody's fat next to Freddie Mercury
 88 A: No, he's not thin, he's lovely * *
 89 E: He's very muscular * * * * *
 90 A: Thin is Rod Stewart * * * * *
 91 E: Freddie Mercury is absolutely gorgeous! * * * * *
 92 A: There's a lot of Frankie in him anyway, I don't care.
 93 E: Did I say Frankie? I mean Freddie.
 94 A: No, I said Frankie. There's a lot of Frankie in Freddie.
 95 E: Yeah, I catch myself mixing them up [sometimes
 96 A: [or the other way around]
 97 E: when I'm not thinking [very
 98 A: [Maybe] there's just a lot of Freddie
 99 in Frankie.
 100 E: Ah
 101 A: But, you know, that I mean that may be the deal with him, I I
 102 get the feeling just from the little I know that Tim Curry
 103 is so far removed from Frankie, no wonder the audience in
 104 Austin was upset with him when he walked out and he was Tim
 105 Curry
 106 E: Yeah. Especially if he showed up look like that
 107 A: Looking like Tim Curry, looking like the Shakespearian [actor
 108 E: [like
 109 A: that seems to be his his background

- 110 E: But anybody, anybody in Britain who's grown up in Stratford,
 111 anybody who is an actor in Britain has done serious
 112 acting
- 113 A: Well, all actors have, I think
- 114 E: No
- 115 A: All actors, * * not all stars
- 116 E: Oh, got it
- 117 A: But * to go into making movies that are Shakespeare requires
 118 more than local productions, * * even state productions.
 119 * * * * * I mean, he's been recognized as good.
- 120 E: I certainly hope they redo "Richard II" * * * I mean, not
 121 redo it, rerun it
- 122 A: That's not one of the plays I know
- 123 E: See, that was one of the problems. I missed
- 124 A: I have a limited Shakespearian background
- 125 E: I missed, they set up two people fighting, calling each other
 126 liars and then the king banishes them and in the meantime,
 127 there's a a discussion between two women, or at least one
 128 woman is involved in the * * dialog and she explains who
 129 actually did the disgracing who is really the culprit
- 130 A: Yeah
- 131 E: And I missed that, so after that it didn't really make any
 132 sense which is why I said "Go ahead and look at 'Harvest
 133 Home'." * * * * * That's * * it's
 134 fake
- 135 A: Oh, yeah (looking at picture of Tim Curry)

136 E: You can see it right here, [it's very fake]
 137 A: [If I could] just lift his nose
 138 E: Wh, it is lifted with the make-up
 139 A: The make-up lifts it. I need plastic surgery! (volume and
 140 pitch raised) (A is looking in mirror)
 141 E: It doesn't need to be a high-bridged nose
 142 A: It's not a real nose tell it's got a high bridge
 143 E: Then yours must not have been a real [nose till you tried]
 144 A: [It's not a real nose]
 145 E: to cut it off
 146 A: Wasn't!
 147 E: Cut your nose off to spite your face. Nudge nudge wink wink
 148 A: Say no more * * * * *
 149 E: Nevertheless hello
 150 A: [You]
 151 E: [You] have go to see that [film]
 152 A: [You] don't know how envious I am
 153 of people with high-bridged noses and I hate it that I think
 154 somebody's gorgeous and he has a low-bridged nose * * * * *
 155 E: [I don't know]
 156 A: [Cause I don't even know] Every time in the movie he stands
 157 I say (high, almost falsetto) "Turn back around!" * * * * *
 158 * * * * * I missed "Mustapha" * *
 159 E: Shall I back it up
 160 A: It's all right with me cause I didn't hear it. My mouth was
 161 open

- 162 E: [Yeah, your mouth was flapping]
163 A: [and my ears were closed.]
164 E: ha in the breeze
165 A: always is

- 1 A. I don't even remember hurting myself
- 2 N. She fell off her horse?
- 3 A. Ah, was it this afternoon or did you see it this evening?
- 4 N. I saw it this evening
- 5 E. Uh, I don't remember
- 6 A. That's from me falling: that's a bruise.
- 7 E. That's from you falling.
- 8 Turkey, you should have had your hat on.
- 9 A. How would that have helped my collar bone! No, remember when
- 10 I came back I told you I had hit my head, or I said something, I
- 11 was a little uh huh when I came back walking over there cause
- 12 when I flipped off and held him, I still went into him. I would
- 13 have broken my butt if I hadn't held on to his nech though.
- 14 E. That's a good way to land under his feet and there's nothing he
- 15 can do about it. He won't step on you, A.
- 16 A. I wasn't straight under him * * * * *
- 17 E. Suit yourself * *
- 18 N. I almost broke my butt the other day
- 19 A. No, I didn't come down in front of his feet
- 20 E. Suit yourself! * * * * *
- 21 A. You should have filmed it * * * *
- 22 N. Film at 11:00
- 23 A. I was thinking, A fell off her horse today. Film at 11:00.
- 24 E. I didn't * * * * say * * * that you did fall in front of his
- 25 feet * * * * but you can't always control it hanging
- 26 around the neck
- 27 A. No, I

28. E. hanging around the neck is a very dangerous thing to do
29. N. Unless you've got the strength in the back of the legs to swing
30. the body back up and throw the legs around the neck again * *
31. just kind of hang there with the horse
32. A. No, I went that way
33. N. I know * * * * *
34. A. [But it was a somersault]
35. N. [But if you keep going] that way and you bring the legs up, you'd
36. still be facing the horse again with your legs over him
37. A. [But I must have been cause] I hit him here
38. E. [Yeah, but A if you lost] your footing you would have been
39. under his neck * * * *
40. A. Yeah
41. E. right under his feet and there wouldn't have been a damn thing
42. he could have done about it because he can't see you under there.
43. If you'd have fallen [clear of his neck]
44. A. [this part of his neck] * * right behind his
45. ears
46. L. Yes that's still in front of his feet
47. A. Yeah, but he knew I was there * * I don't understand
48. E. Suit your bleeding self!
49. A. I don't under
50. N. Bloody hell
51. A. I don't know why he can't see me I'm * * * eyeballing him like
52. that
53. N. (laughs)
54. A. I can see him
55. E. He can't help stepping on you if you fall right in bloody front

56. of him if you fell away from him and happened to fall in in
 57. A. (unclear)
 58. E. front of him and rolled, he could miss you * * but not if you
 59. come right in front of him
 60. A. (unclear)
 61. E. Next time when you're gonna fall, next time next time you plan
 62. your fall, fall clear
 63. A. I did
 64. E. No you didn't
 65. N. You fell right in front of his * * tracks
 66. E. Uhhm
 67. A. He was still by then
 68. N. Yeah, but what if he had been at a fast pace, he would have kept
 69. coming and went straight over you
 70. A. (unclear)
 71. E. You can't count on that Annette
 72. A. I didn't plan my fall
 73. E. I told you to I have been telling her to plan her fall. That's
 74. probably like your inside leg is your pole to bend the horse
 75. around. The outside leg controls the hindquarters the inside
 76. rein asks for the bend, the outside rein controls it
 77. N. I don't * *
 78. E. Now you've got it on tape and you can listen to it in your sleep
 79. N. Uhm
 80. E. You do not fall in front of the horse, you fall clear you fall
 81. relaxed and you roll away * * you do not stick out your hands
 82. you land on your shoulders and your hip * * * * *

83. A. Why can't I land on my feet?
84. E. That's a jolly good way to break an ankle I know somebody who
85. did it * *. Sermonette over * * * Questions * * * * *
86. laugh
87. N. What's an inside leg?
88. laugh

APPENDIX D

The transcripts represent the most accurate rendition of the conversations that we have been able to produce at this time; unfortunately, each new viewing/hearing of the tapes seems to lead to new changes. We have chosen to use standard punctuation wherever possible for the sake of readability. Commas, semi-colons, etc., therefore, should not be read as signaling periods of silence or pauses in any consistent manner. When we have felt the need to indicate pauses, overlaps, etc., we have used the following notational devices:

* one-half (1/2) second

[] overlap

- no pause

() explanatory comments